

Construction of State Citizen and Government Ideology

This document contains information needed to replicate the measures of state citizen and government ideology reported in Berry, Ringquist, Fording and Hanson's 1998 AJPS article "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States, 1960-93." (Some methodological details not reported in the AJPS article are contained in the "Unpublished Supplement.") Note that the ultimate government and citizen ideology measures we report in the AJPS article -- called GOVTIDEO (in the article) and CITIDEO (in the Unpublished Supplement) -- are based on an average of COPE and ADA scores, but that reliability tests reported on p. 336 of the article involve measures based just on ADA scores and just on COPE scores.

Construction of state government and citizen ideology relies on data contained in two zip files. The first of these zip files (Congress.zip) contains individual level data for members of Congress (House and Senate). A second zip file (State.zip) contains state-level data concerning the partisan composition of state government, estimates of state party ideology, and various other constructed variables used to estimate state government ideology. A third zip file is also included here and consists of data used in various validity tests reported in the AJPS article (336-41). These zip files, and their contents, are listed below:

Congress.zip:

readme.txt: describes contents of House and Senate individual level data files
hou6093.dat: individual level data file for House members, 1960-93
sen6093.wk1: individual level data set for Senate, 1960-93

State.zip

readme.txt: describes contents of state level data files
stategov.wk1: partisan composition of state government, 1960-93
pest60.wk1: state party ideology estimates based on ADA and COPE, 1960-93
instid60.wk1: data used in construction of government ideology estimates, 1960-93

Validity.zip:

readme.txt: describes the various data files
Xsection.wk1: variables used for several cross-sectional validity tests described in the AJPS article
Tseries.wk1: national level data used for validity test described in footnote 21 of AJPS article
Reliable.wk1: measures of citizen and government ideology based on alternative ratings organizations
XXXXX.XXX: contains state legislative COPE scores, along with our corresponding measure of party ideology, used in validity test in AJPS article

I. Estimation of State Party Ideology

Estimates of state party ideology are ultimately used in constructing both citizen and government ideology. These estimates are constructed as follows.

State party ideology scores for 1960-93 were obtained in a series of three steps:

1) Using batch commands for SPSSPC 5.0 (see Appendix I-A), individual level U.S. House and Senate ideology data (average of ADA and COPE ratings) were merged and aggregated by state, year and party to create state party ideology scores. This process utilizes individual level House data from hou6093.dat, and individual level Senate data from spreadsheet file sen6093.wk1 (all data contained in Congress.zip). The result of this process is a spreadsheet file (ultimately pest60.wk1), which contains state party ideology scores for fifty states, 1960-93. At this stage, some party ideology estimates are missing for selected state years (see "Unpublished Supplement to 'Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States, 1960-93'" and are coded 999.

2) To estimate missing party ideology scores, two separate files (one each for Dem's and Rep's) were created to use in regression estimation of missing values (see "Unpublished Supplement" for details of

regression strategy). Each of these estimation files contains state party ideology scores for each party, but is supplemented to include all "neighbor" variables needed for regression estimation. These estimation files are not included here, but are easily constructed.

3) Finally, having created two estimation files containing all the necessary variables, regressions are estimated using Limdep 6.0 using the rules described in our "Unpublished Supplement." Regression commands for the final round regressions for each state party are given in Appendix II-B, while the results are summarized in our "Unpublished Supplement." Based on these regressions, estimated values were merged with observed values to create a complete party ideology series for each state party. These final party ideology estimates are contained in file pest60.wk1 (in State.zip).

II. Estimation of Citizen Ideology

Appendix II lists SPSSPC commands used to compute citizen ideology scores for 1960-93. These commands accomplish several computational tasks. First, individual level House and Senate data (contained in Sen6093.wk1 and Hou6093.dat) are merged into one large file (N = 18,196). Second, this large file is merged with state party ideology estimates (contained in Pest60.wk1 for 1960-93) to provide estimates of challenger ideology. Third, using electoral data originally contained in the individual level congressional files, estimates of state citizen ideology are constructed by aggregating state incumbent and challenger ideology scores, weighted by estimated voter support (equation 1 of the AJPS article). See the AJPS article and the "Unpublished Supplement" for more detail regarding the construction of the measure. Final citizen ideology scores (output from command files) are contained in ideo6093.wk1 (in Ideology.zip).

III. Estimation of Government Ideology

For 1960-93, state government ideology is constructed using two data sets:

- i) Partisan control of state government (governor and legislature) contained in spreadsheet file Stategov.wk1 (in State.zip)
- ii) Estimates of state party ideology contained in Pest60.wk1 (in State.zip).

These two input files are utilized by SPSSPC commands (see Appendix III) to integrate data on partisan control of government and state party ideology, creating state government ideology scores for years 1960-93. In addition to government ideology scores, the final data set produced by the SPSS commands (Instid60.wk1 in State.zip) contains a number of other variables used in the construction of government ideology (see readme.txt in State.zip), including the weights used to compute the final measure. Final government ideology scores for 1960-93 are also in ideo6093.wk1 (in Ideology.zip).

IV. Reliability and Validity Tests

Listed below are details concerning a number of reliability and validity tests, the results of which are reported in the AJPS article. The tests are referenced in the order they appear in the article.

1. Reliability test correlating alternative measures of citizen ideology (p. 336, and footnote 10).

These alternative measures, including a measure of citizen ideology based on ACLU ratings only (1977-92 only; see footnote 10 of the AJPS article), are contained in Reliable.wk1 (in Validity.zip).

2. Reliability test correlating alternative measures of government ideology (p. 336)

These alternative measures, including a measure of government ideology based on ACLU ratings only (1977-92 only; see footnote 10 of the AJPS article), are contained in Reliable.wk1 (in Validity.zip).

3. Test of Assumption 2: Correlation of individual level ADA and COPE scores (p. 337)

This test can be replicated using individual level congressional data contained in Hou6093.dat and Sen6093.wk1.

4. Test of Assumption 3: Comparison of ideology of incumbents to their successors from the same party (p. 337-8)

This test can be replicated using data in Hou6093.dat and Sen6093.wk1.

5. Test of Assumption 4: Comparison of ideology of successful challengers in their first year to the average ideology of all non-first-year incumbents from the same party in the same state (p. 338)

This test can be replicated using data in Hou6093.dat and Sen6093.wk1.

6. Test of Assumption 6: Regression of average state legislative COPE score (for each state party) on the average COPE score of state's congressional delegation for that party (p. 339)

The data set used to conduct this analysis is XXXXXX, contained in Validity.zip.

7. Test of Assumption 6: Correlation between Erickson, Wright and McIver's measure of state party ideology (based on Uslander and Weber's survey) and our measure of party ideology (p. 339)

This test relies on data contained in Xsection.wk1, contained in Validity.zip. Note that this test pools Democratic and Republican party estimates.

8. Test of Assumption 7: Correlation between average ideology of county chairpersons for each party in each state and our measure of state party ideology (p. 339-40)

This test relies on data contained in Xsection.wk1, contained in Validity.zip. Note that this test pools Democratic and Republican party estimates.

9. Test of Assumption 7: Correlation between average ideology of delegates to 1980 conventions (for each party and state) and our measure of party ideology.

This test relies on data contained in Xsection.wk1, contained in Validity.zip. Note that this test pools Democratic and Republican party estimates.

10. Test of Assumption 8: Correlation between final measure of government ideology and alternative version based on different set of weights for state institutions (p. 340)

To conduct this test, we simply recalculated our government ideology estimates, replacing the original weights for the two chambers of the legislature and the governor (.25, .25 and .5 respectively) to .33, .33 and .33.

11. Test of Assumption 9: Correlation between final measure of government ideology and alternative version based on different sets of weights for parties within legislative chambers (p. 340)

To conduct this test, we simply recalculated our government ideology estimates, replacing the original weights for each party within a chamber with new weights based on various combinations of different values of MAXPOWER and MINSEATS.

12. Validity test: Correlation between our measure of citizen ideology and alternative measures of state ideology from Wright, Erikson and McIver (1985), and Erikson, Wright and McIver (1993) (p. 340-41)

This test relies on data contained in Xsection.wk1, contained in Validity.zip.

13. Validity test: Correlation between our measures of citizen and government ideology, and measures of state policy liberalism developed by Wright, Erikson and McIver (1987), and Klingmann and Lammers (1984) (p. 341)

This test relies on data contained in Xsection.wk1, contained in Validity.zip.

14. Validity test: Correlation between our measure of citizen ideology aggregated to the national level (weighted by population) and Stimson's national level measure of ideology (policy mood) (footnote 21).

This test relies on data contained in Tseries.wk1 (in Validity.zip).

Appendix I: Party Ideology

A. SPSSPC syntax (1960-93)

*These SPSS commands aggregate individual level ratings data for members of Congress (from individual level spreadsheet files contained in Congress.zip). We end up with state party scores for R's and D's for all

states and years 1960-93, based on an average of ADA and COPE scores. These scores contain missing values reported in the “Unpublished Supplement.”

***Merge Senate data with House data (after converting House data to SPSS system file)**

```
translate from 'sen6093.wk1' /fieldnames.  
join add /file * /file 'hou6093.sys'.  
recode district (98=55).  
sort cases by state year district.  
save /outfile 'partyind.sys' /keep state year district party ada cope.
```

***Create state Democratic party ideology estimates by taking average ideology scores of Democratic congressional delegation for each state, based on: 1) ADA scores, 2) COPE scores, 3) Avg of ADA and COPE**

```
get /file 'partyind.sys'.  
select if (party=1).  
select if (ada ne 999 and cope ne 999).  
compute coad_d=(ada+cope)/2.  
aggregate /outfile=* /break state year /ada_d=mean(ada) /cope_d=mean(cope) /coad_d=mean(coad_d).  
save /outfile 'dparty60.sys'.
```

***Create state Republican party ideology estimates by taking average ideology scores of Republican congressional delegation for each state, based on: 1) ADA scores, 2) COPE scores, 3) Avg of ADA and COPE**

```
get /file 'partyind.sys'.  
select if (party=2).  
select if (ada ne 999 and cope ne 999).  
compute coad_r=(ada+cope)/2.  
aggregate /outfile=* /break state year /ada_r=mean(ada) /cope_r=mean(cope) /coad_r=mean(coad_r).  
save /outfile 'rparty60.sys'.
```

***Create simple measure of state ideology based on average of ideology scores across ALL members of Congress (both parties), based on 1) ADA scores, 2) COPE scores, 3) Avg of ADA and COPE**

```
get /file 'partyind.sys'.  
select if (ada ne 999 and cope ne 999).  
compute coad_c=(ada+cope)/2.  
aggregate /outfile=* /break state year /ada_c=mean(ada) /cope_c=mean(cope) /coad_c=mean(coad_c).  
save /outfile 'cparty60.sys'.
```

***Create single file containing estimates of state party ideology for both parties (Pest60.wk1)**

***Note: At this point party ideology estimates are missing for some state-years**

```
join match /file 'dparty.sys' /file 'rparty.sys' /file 'cparty.sys' /by state year.  
recode all (missing=999).  
save /outfile 'pest60.sys'.  
translate to 'pest60.wk1' /fieldnames.
```

B. Final Round Limdep Regression Commands for Estimating Missing Party Ideology Scores (1960-93)

? Regressions to estimate missing state Democratic party ideology scores: missing values replaced with predicted values. These regressions are run using a data file (Demest60.wk1) which contains data in Pest60.wk1, supplemented with various “neighbors” variables (see the “Unpublished Supplement”).

```
read; file=c:\spss\demest60.wk1; names; format=wks$
```

skip\$

create; coad_dd=coad_d\$

reject; state # 2\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d28, coad_d14; keep=y2; fill\$

create; if (state=2 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y2\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 8\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d20, coad_d38, coad_d30; keep=y8; fill\$

create; if (state=8 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y8\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 12\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d47, coad_d37, coad_d28, coad_d26; keep=y12; fill\$

create; if (state=12 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y12\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 16\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d36, coad_d6, coad_d25; keep=y16; fill\$

create; if (state=16 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y16\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 27\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d15, coad_d25, coad_DD16, coad_DD41, coad_DD50;

keep=y27; fill\$

create; if (state=27 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y27\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 29\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d21, coad_d19; keep=y29; fill\$

create; if (state=29 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y29\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 31\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d3, coad_d6, coad_d36, coad_d43; keep=y31; fill\$

create; if (state=31 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y31\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 34\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d41, coad_d26, coad_d23; keep=y34; fill\$

create; if (state=34 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y34\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 41\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d34, coad_d26, coad_d23, coad_d15; keep=y41; fill\$

create; if (state=41 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y41\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 44\$

regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d28, coad_d3, coad_d6; keep=y44; fill\$

create; if (state=44 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y44\$

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 45$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d21, coad_d32; keep=y45; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=45 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y45$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 50$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_d; rhs=one, coad_r, coad_d6, coad_d26, coad_d41; keep=y50; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=50 & coad_d=-999) coad_dd=y50$
```

```
sample; all$
```

**? Regressions to estimate missing state Republican party ideology scores: missing values replaced
? with predicted values. These regressions are run using a data file (Repest60.wk1) which contains ?
data in Pest60.wk1, supplemented with various “neighbors” variables (see “unpublished
? Supplement).**

```
read; file=c:\spss\repest60.wk1; names; format=wks$
```

```
skip$
```

```
create; coad_rr=coad_r$
```

```
reject; state # 1$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r42, coad_r9; keep=y1; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=1 & all_r=-999) coad_rr=y1$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 2$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r8, coad_r14; keep=y2; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=2 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y2$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 4$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r36, coad_r25, coad_r17, coad_r42,
```

```
coad_RR24, coad_RR43; keep=y4; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=4 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y4$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 7$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r21, coad_RR39; keep=y7; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=7 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y7$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 10$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r9, coad_r42, coad_r33; keep=y10; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=10 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y10$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 11$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r25, coad_r6; keep=y11; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=11 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y11$
```

sample; all\$

reject; state # 12\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r47, coad_r37, coad_r44, coad_r50; keep=y12; fill\$

create; if (state=12 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y12\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 18\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r42, coad_r46; keep=y18; fill\$

create; if (state=18 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y18\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 21\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r7, coad_r32, coad_r45, coad_r29, coad_r19; keep=y21; fill\$

create; if (state=21 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y21\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 24\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r46, coad_r42; keep=y24; fill\$

create; if (state=24 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y24\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 26\$

reg; lhs=all_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r12, coad_r50, coad_r41; keep=y26; fill\$

create; if (state=26 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y26\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 28\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r5, coad_r37, coad_r44, coad_r3; keep=y28; fill\$

create; if (state=28 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y28\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 31\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r3, coad_r6, coad_r44, coad_r36; keep=y31; fill\$

create; if (state=31 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y31\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 34\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r41, coad_r23; keep=y34; fill\$

create; if (state=34 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y34\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 39\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r21, coad_r32; keep=y39; fill\$

create; if (state=39 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y39\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 40\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r33, coad_r46; keep=y40; fill\$

create; if (state=40 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y40\$

sample; all\$

reject; state # 41\$

reg; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r27, coad_r50, coad_r23, coad_r15; keep=y41; fill\$

create; if (state=41 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y41\$

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 43$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d, coad_r36, coad_r9; keep=y43; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=43 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y43$
```

```
sample; all$
```

```
reject; state # 48$
```

```
regr; lhs=coad_r; rhs=one, coad_d,, coad_r17, coad_r38, coad_r20; keep=y48; fill$
```

```
create; if (state=48 & coad_r=-999) coad_rr=y48$
```

```
sample; all$
```

Additional Information

The SPSS commands listed above (I-A) produce state party ideology estimates based on: 1) ADA scores for each party (ADA_R and ADA_D), 2) COPE scores for each party (COPE_R and COPE_D), and 3) the average of ADA and COPE scores for each party (COAD_R and COAD_D). The Limdep commands listed above estimate missing values only for the COAD series. Commands used to estimate missing values for the ADA and COPE-based series are not included here, but were similar to those above (see the “Unpublished Supplement” for more details concerning the estimation of the ADA and COPE measures).

The final party ideology estimates (COAD_RR for Republicans and COAD_DD for Democrats) are used as estimates of challenger ideology in the construction of citizen ideology (CHALIDEO in equation 1 of the AJPS article). They are also used as estimates of the ideology of party delegations in state legislatures (ID:REP:LOW, ID:REP:UPP, ID:DEM:LOW, and ID:DEM:UPP in equation 2 of the AJPS article), and as an estimate of the ideology of the governor (ID:GOV in equation 2 of the AJPS article). While the COAD measures of party ideology were used in the estimation of our final citizen and government ideology estimates, party ideology scores based on ADA and COPE alone were similarly used to estimate alternative measures of citizen and government ideology. We recommend using the measures based on the COAD party ideology estimates, and only construct these alternative measures for the purpose of conducting reliability tests (see p. 336 of the AJPS article).

Appendix II: Citizen Ideology

SPSSPC Commands Used to Create Citizen Ideology

***First compute incumbent and challenger support for House (INCSUPP and CHALSUPP in *equation 1 of the AJPS article, Incumbwt and Challwt below).**

```
get /file 'hou6093.sys'.
```

```
missing values all (999).
```

```
compute rvote1=100-dvote1.
```

```
compute rvote2=100-dvote2.
```

```

compute even=year.
compute odd=year.
recode even (60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92=1) (else=0).
recode odd (61 63 65 67 69 71 73 75 77 79 81 83 85 87 89 91 93=1) (else=0).

if (party=1 and odd=1) incumbwt=(2/3*dvote1)+(1/3*dvote2).

if (party=2 and odd=1) incumbwt=(2/3*rvote1)+(1/3*rvote2).

if (party=1 and even=1) incumbwt=(1/3*dvote1)+(2/3*dvote2).

if (party=2 and even=1) incumbwt=(1/3*rvote1)+(2/3*rvote2).

compute challwt=100-incumbwt.

compute coad_i=(ada+cope)/2.
if (ada=999 or cope=999) coad_i=999.

save /outfile 'hou6093.sys' /keep state year district party ada cope coad_i
dvote1 dvote2 incumbwt challwt.

```

***Now merge House data with Senate data**

```

translate from 'sen6093.wk1' /fieldnames.
save /outfile 'sen6093.sys'.
get /file 'sen6093.sys'.

compute challwt=100-incumbwt.
compute coad_i=(ada+cope)/2.
if (ada=999 or cope=999) coad_i=999.

join add /file * /file 'hou6093.sys'.

recode district (98=55).

sort cases by state year district.

save /outfile 'cong6093.sys' /keep name state year district party incumbwt
challwt ada cope coad_i.

```

*** Merge Party Ideology Data with Individual Level Congressional Data to Create Estimates of
*Challenger Ideology**

```

translate from 'pest60.wk1' /fieldnames.
save /outfile 'pest60.sys'.
join match /file 'cong6093.sys' /file 'pest60.sys' /by state year.

save /outfile 'cong6093.sys' /drop ada_d ada_r ada_c cope_r cope_d
cope_c coad_r coad_d coad_c.

get /file 'cong6093.sys'.
recode ada_dd ada_rr cope_dd cope_rr coad_dd coad_rr (missing=999).

```

***These commands, if repeated successively, match state party ideology scores to individual level
*congressional data to estimate challenger ideology.**

```
compute adadz=lag(ada_dd).
compute adarz=lag(ada_rr).
compute copedz=lag(cope_dd).
compute coperz=lag(cope_rr).
compute coaddz=lag(coad_dd).
compute coadrz=lag(coad_rr).
if (ada_dd=999) ada_dd=adadz.
if (ada_rr=999) ada_rr=adarz.
if (cope_dd=999) cope_dd=copedz.
if (cope_rr=999) cope_rr=coperz.
if (coad_dd=999) coad_dd=coaddz.
if (coad_rr=999) coad_rr=coadrz.
```

***[REPEAT UNTIL ALL MISSING CHALLENGER SCORES ARE SUCCESSIVELY MERGED]**

```
save /outfile 'cong6093.sys' /drop adarz adadz copedz coperz coadz coadrz.
```

***Compute District Ideology (CITIDEO_{d,t} in equation 1 of the AJPS article)**

```
get /file 'cong6093.sys'.
missing values ada cope coad_i (999).
```

```
if (party=1) distada=((incumbwt*ada)+(challwt*ada_rr))/100.
if (party=2) distada=((incumbwt*ada)+(challwt*ada_dd))/100.
```

```
if (party=1) distcope=((incumbwt*cope)+(challwt*cope_rr))/100.
if (party=2) distcope=((incumbwt*cope)+(challwt*cope_dd))/100.
```

```
if (party=1) distcoad=((incumbwt*coad_i)+(challwt*coad_rr))/100.
if (party=2) distcoad=((incumbwt*coad_i)+(challwt*coad_dd))/100.
```

***Aggregate to state level to create state citizen ideology (CITIDEO_{s,t} in the “Unpublished
*Supplement”). CITICOAD below is the same variable as CITIDEO in the final data set.**

```
aggregate /outfile='citizen.sys' /break state year /citiada=mean(distada)
/citicope=mean(distcope) /citicoad=mean(distcoad).
get /file 'citizen.sys'.
translate to 'citi6093.wk1' /fieldnames /replace.
```

Appendix III: State Government Ideology

SPSSPC Syntax Used to Create Government Ideology

***For definitions of all variables referenced below, as well as their equivalent labels in the AJPS
*article, see the readme.txt file describing the data sets in Stategov.zip.**

```
TRANSLATE FROM 'stategov.WK1' /FIELDNAMES.
COMPUTE PCTDEMH=DEMLO/(DEMLO+REPLO).
COMPUTE PCTREPH=1-PCTDEMH.
compute pctdems=demup/(demup+repup).
compute pctreps=1-pctdems.
compute minseats=.6.
compute maxseats=1-minseats.
compute minmajwt=.6.
```

compute maxminwt=1-minmajwt.

if (pctdemh lt maxseats or pctdemh eq maxseats) wtdemh=0.

if (pctdemh gt minseats or pctdemh eq minseats) wtdemh=1.

if (pctdemh=.5) wtdemh=.5.

if (pctdemh gt maxseats and pctdemh lt .5) wtdemh=maxminwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctdemh*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

if (pctdemh gt .5 and pctdemh lt minseats) wtdemh=minmajwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctdemh*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

if (pctreph lt maxseats or pctreph eq maxseats) wtreph=0.

if (pctreph gt minseats or pctreph eq minseats) wtreph=1.

if (pctreph=.5) wtreph=.5.

if (pctreph gt maxseats and pctreph lt .5) wtreph=maxminwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctreph*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

if (pctreph gt .5 and pctreph lt minseats) wtreph=minmajwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctreph*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

***Verification that weights are correctly calculated**

compute checkwth=wtdemh+wtreph.

frequencies checkwth.

if (pctdems lt maxseats or pctdems eq maxseats) wtdems=0.

if (pctdems gt minseats or pctdems eq minseats) wtdems=1.

if (pctdems=.5) wtdems=.5.

if (pctdems gt maxseats and pctdems lt .5) wtdems=maxminwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctdems*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

if (pctdems gt .5 and pctdems lt minseats) wtdems=minmajwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctdems*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

if (pctreps lt maxseats or pctreps eq maxseats) wtreps=0.

if (pctreps gt minseats or pctreps eq minseats) wtreps=1.

if (pctreps=.5) wtreps=.5.

if (pctreps gt maxseats and pctreps lt .5) wtreps=maxminwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctreps*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

if (pctreps gt .5 and pctreps lt minseats) wtreps=minmajwt-((1-minmajwt)/(2*(minseats-.5))) + (pctreps*((1-minmajwt)/(minseats-.5))).

***Verification that weights are correctly calculated**

compute checkwts=wtdems+wtreps.

frequencies checkwts.

save /outfile 'stategov.sys'.

***Merge state government data with party ideology data**

```
join match /file 'stategov.sys' /file 'pest60.sys'.
```

***Compute ideology of governor**

```
if (govparty=100) copeg=cope_dd.  
if (govparty=200) copeg=cope_rr.  
if (govparty=100) adag=ada_dd.  
if (govparty=200) adag=ada_rr.  
if (govparty=100) coadg=all_dd.  
if (govparty=200) coadg=all_rr.
```

***Compute government ideology as weighted average of party ideology**

```
compute instada=.25*(wtdemh*ada_dd+wtreph*ada_rr)+.25*(wtdems*ada_dd+wtreps*  
ada_rr)+.5*adag.
```

```
compute instcope=.25*(wtdemh*cope_dd+wtreph*cope_rr)+.25*(wtdems*cope_dd+  
wtreps*cope_rr)+.5*copeg.
```

```
compute instcoad=.25*(wtdemh*coad_dd+wtreph*coad_rr)+.25*(wtdems*coad_dd+  
wtreps*coad_rr)+.5*coadg.
```

***Nebraska**

```
if (state#=27) instcope=(.5*cope_c)+(.5*copeg).  
if (state#=27) instada=(.5*ada_c)+(.5*adag).  
if (state#=27) instcoad=(.5*coad_c)+(.5*coadg).  
recode instcope instada instcoad (missing=-999).
```

***Minnesota**

```
if (state#=23 and instcope=-999) instcope=(.5*cope_c)+(.5*copeg).  
if (state#=23 and instada=-999) instada=(.5*ada_c)+(.5*adag).  
if (state#=23 and instcoad=-999) instcoad=(.5*coad_c)+(.5*coadg).
```

```
save /outfile 'instid60.sys' /drop ada_d ada_r cope_d  
cope_r coad_d coad_r.
```

```
get /file 'instid60.sys'.  
translate to 'instid60.wk1' /fieldnames /replace.
```